/206 cont./

386 The wahá-kó is spread in the interior part of the cuia with a brush,
415 letting it dry afterwards. The operation is repeated a second time
*[192] and more, until it reaches the thickness of approximately one millimeter. Directly afterwards urine is spread on the ground and on this area they turn upside down, on small pieces of wood, the cuias that they wish to paint. The ammonia that comes from the urine transforms the layer of wahá-kó in the interior of the cuia into a black, shiny, and quite adherent varnish.

The same result is obtained by applying mandioca leaves saturated in urine over the layer of wahá-kó.

5) Other utilitarian objects.

824 The Indian has known how to obtain from the nature that surrounds him many other objects and resources for his life.

We shall recall some:

*[192] /207/ a) Papóque. The papóque, in Tukano pápwa-khá-
•[515] sõtí, is the embira of a tree that produces foam, and they wash their heads with it, for lack of soap.

*[192] b) Tauarí. Táwari, as is also said in Tukano (couratari tauarí,
[276] of the family of the Lecythidaceae), is also an embira, which unrolls into very thin and flexible sheets that are used as cigar wrappers. They are obtained from the bark by striking it with a mallet until all the ligneous part has been detached.

*[192] c) Bags, cueio, and masks. The tururí, in Tukano waxsó-gõ,
[415] is a tree of several species of Manicariao, from whose liber or bast
[532] they prepare the bags for the ipadú, the masks (see VII -- 3, d (2)), and the waxsó-ro (in Nheengatú cueio) for dances (cf. loincloth, VII -- 3, d (2)). Once the branch or trunk that suits them is chosen, they cut it and start to beat the bark with a wooden mallet until /in the original source the line of type that follows these words is the duplicate of one that properly appears later in the paragraph, while the line that belongs here is missing/ as if it were a shirt sleeve or a cape. With a cutting object (formerly a taquara /a bamboo/) they detach the part that they want. The

/290 cont./

356 Not infrequently, however, because of the dogs that also live
[136] there (and we have at times seen dogs sick and covered with sores),
[231] the ground is dusty, favoring the procreation of the bichos-de-pé /foot fleas/ (cullex pénetrans) and fleas.

Not infrequently the fruit rinds are thrown into a corner to rot,
[514] producing an unpleasant odor. This is unbearable, due to the vomitings and defecations in the maloca itself during the dabacuris. One can sometimes perceive a peculiar odor in the native povoados.

b) On the person.

• 515 The body hygiene is also deficient. They take a bath every morning, and more during the day. It is a bath to refresh, however, rather than to clean. Not having soap available to eliminate the grease from the body and hair, one not infrequently sees layers of dirt on some parts of the epidermis, especially in the folds of the skin and in the hairy parts. Even those who use /291/ soap, such as the school pupils, give off an unpleasant and characteristic odor.

296 Although they know how to wash clothes, and some of them do it well, in the majority of cases they keep the clothes on the body until they are very dirty, or even until they rot. Precisely the following custom is to be noted: they wash their own clothes with certain frequency when new. When they consider them old, they will not wash them any more. If they get wet, they let the clothes dry on the body.

356 Their primitive hammocks of tucum are never washed as a
515 rule, and in a little while they are darkened by the sweat, smoke, and grime. They climb into the hammock with the body dirty. The only care will be, perhaps, to rub the soles of the feet, one against the other, in order to clean them of soil.

574 With all freedom, an Indian, even a strange one passing by the maloca (we have seen this even in the case of Indians of different tribes), will lie down during the day in the first hammock that he finds vacant, while he rests and converses.

/291 cont./

c) In the food.

264 The practice of preparing and eating food with clean hands is not in force among the natives. They break off the pieces of beijú with the hands, and, one after the other, each person dips it with the fingers into the quinhapira. If this, by chance, is too hot, he will use a stick, casually found on the ground, to take out the fragment of beijú that slipped from his fingers into the pot.

The beijú and other foods are not only held in dirty hands, but they are also deposited on the hammock or some other filthy object.

[271] [276] They drink from the same cuia, which goes from mouth to mouth. In the same way, the cigar or a ball of candy will pass from one mouth to another.

They have been seen taking and eating some food, perhaps even spoiled, placed in the garbage container or in the feed for the pigs. And even going so far as to compete with some animal for the ration that it is eating, even though it is on the ground or in a trough.

d) In the acts.

• 515 They likewise practice certain very repugnant acts. By way of an example, there is that of the mother who, with her own tongue, cleans the nose of her little child; or who eats the parasites as she finds them on the head of her children. This, by the way, is a general custom when one woman "searches" another. Perhaps, in lieu of payment, whoever has the /292/ job of searching also eats the lice. More rarely she will give the parasite to its legitimate owner (46).

46. Although it is a general custom, and they always observe it when a woman searches for parasites on the head of another person, they refuse to say whether there is any magic meaning in this practice. Whenever they perceive that they are being watched, or fear that they are, they interrupt the act and go so far as to try to disguise it.

/292 cont./

515 They are ignorant of the use of handkerchiefs, cleaning the nose with the fingers, which afterwards are rubbed against some part of the body.

[854] The mother, or another woman, with her own hands, attends to the cleaning of her baby, and afterwards, in order to clean herself, is satisfied with shaking her hand to one side and rubbing it on the ground or against some plant.

3. The arts.

157 In the complex of works that the forest dwellers execute, they not only reveal splendid aptitudes, rare ability, and other qualities already mentioned elsewhere, but also particular artistic tendencies which are begging our civilization for more opportunities to develop (47).

[857] 47. With a knife improvised out of a piece of the metallic binding that goes around the crates of merchandise, the child produces canoes, and now even small airplanes, in wood.

The house that he builds, with all its furnishings, -- stools, ceramics, woven goods, canoes, weapons, hunting and fishing gear, baskets, -- reveal, besides the stability and sturdiness required for the purpose for which they are intended, an over-all harmony, a proportion of the parts, a finish in the details, which give a pleasing impression. In all there is revealed a notable artistic sense which should be considered in detail in its threefold manifestation: woven products, designs, music.

a) Woven products.

286 Among the works of weaving, we have already called to mind the nets /Port. rede, net, hammock/ for sleeping and for fishing. But particularly in the rede batida /beaten hammock/ (which seems to be of European origin) and in the puericueio /a covering that hangs from the waist/, Yaxkẽ Waxsó-ro (see below - d (1)), the native woman shows her artistic taste and skill. In the Yaxkẽ

/367 cont./

824 *[192] In order to make marupiara, mõ'sĩgõ̃, for their own child, soon after the giving of the name, they start giving it to drink, at each new moon, the infusion of the leaves of some plants, such as the barâ, perĩ-pirioca, and of a variety of Araceae (with smaller leaves than those of the taioba). The same result is obtained by rubbing the hands with such leaves on the same occasion of the new moon.

824 843 *[192] •[515] There is a plant called kĩ'râ pũrĩ (Uaupés kĩ'nâ pũnĩ), the leaves of which have a long peduncle and are used to dry the hands, as we do with a towel. When the wife is in the period of gestation, neither she nor her husband may eat the small black fruit of this plant, because the child will be born with a long neck. Both will likewise be careful during the pregnancy to cut off the apex of these leaves that they might use. If they do not do this, the child will be born with long hair over the face along the ears.

576 The young men and women, when they meet outside the maloca, turn their backs and say insults to each other (79).

[797]

79. Even the boys and girls of the Mission schools exchange insults when they meet in groups on walks. For example, they were heard to say: -- You are lazy girls! And they retaliate: -- You dirty your clothes (the girls also help to wash the clothes of the boarding-school boys of the Mission).

They spit to the side when they pass near someone with whom they are not sympathetic.

582 /368/ If those of the same tribe marry one another they will not have children (80)!

[797]

80. Pe. Afonso Kuipers from Teresita (Colombia, Papurĩ River) promoted two marriages of Pirâ-tapúya couples, and they were fecund, giving birth to healthy children. In spite of this, they did not lose their own belief.

[178]

/384 cont./
836 inducing them, not infrequently, to provocation (109)

[832] [515]

109. While bathing, the girls agitate the water, with the hand cupped, from below upwards, with a characteristic noise. The boys respond to this signal by fanning their open hands in front of the chest, one higher than the other, so that they are crossed without meeting, and, since they are almost on the surface of the water, they produce a noise that is heard at a distance of two hundred meters or more. This provocative noise is called Pixtwasé.

[192]

and invitation to the boys.

832 /385/ Although the old customs state that the bathing of the
836 women precedes that of the men and should be before the break
[515] of day, sometimes the Indians are surprised in mixed bathing during the warm hours of the day.

The young women prepare philters or potions, known by the
[192] Nheengatú name of Puçanga (in Tukano Ox-kó), which they give
[278] to the young men to drink in order to attract them to them; or, in front of their eyes, they wear or rub on themselves roots and plants to which is attributed an aphrodisiac virtue.

842 The cases of illegitimate pregnancy of maidens are not rare,
847 although they know (110)
848

110. We had gathered for the "centro de Pesquisas" /Research Center/ of Iauareté some plants considered as sterilizing and abortive. While organizing the herbarium, some identifying labels fell off. We called on three maidens, and with the greatest facility, upon seeing the plants, they indicated the name and the purpose, exactly as was stated on the labels.

/403 cont./

481 He almost daily walks great distances through the forest, to his clearing, which not infrequently is located several kilometers away from the maloca, or to hunt or to search for fruits. The woman, besides the great movement inside the maloca, which is forced on her by the preparation of the food, will take a long walk through the forest almost every day /404/ to reach her clearing, where, in the sun, she will walk three or four hours without stopping. There is no mountain climbing, because the region, in general, is flat. Gymnastic exercises or corporal contests, such as in other human groups, are not known (139).

[526]

> 139. We have seen children who, playing, seize one another as though it were for open wrestling, without, however, throwing the companion to the ground.

492 And horseback riding is known just as little. There are as yet no horses around these altitudes, even for use by the civilized.

481 The sports practiced daily are the aquatic ones, that is, swim-
● 515 ming and rowing. In the morning, before daybreak, everyone, without exception, goes to the river, a short distance from the maloca or povoado, and takes his bath. Even the babes in arms are taken along by the mothers and bathed. This bath is quick, one immersing oneself in the water three or four times and passing the hand over the body. Sometimes they steady themselves by the arms on some canoe tied up, and kick the feet in the water. Later, at midday, that is, during the warm hours, when they come back perspiring from the forest or from the clearing, they take another bath. This frequency at the river makes everybody learn how to swim. They swim well, but without much endurance. They never cross great distances by swimming. Perhaps no one would even swim a hundred meters for mere exercise.

4: Silva--726 M-4,5 (1947-1958) 1962 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

/477 cont./

614
,532 Just as there is no indication of clan totemism, there is none of individual or personal totemism either. The objects that they make do not represent animals; they are of simple workmanship, according to the purpose. In some quite rare cases the paintings of the walls are anthropomorphic; they seem, however, to have only a sportive character. /Page 478 is blank./

/479/

Chapter IX

The Life of the Indian

1) Daily cycle.

512 The type and the standard of life of the Indian seem patterned. Even in distinct tribes we find the Indians doing the same things in the same way, and even with a very close timetable. It is indeed a very methodical life, not, however, monotonous. On the contrary, quite varied, in a perfect nature in which daily rest, work, meals, baths, physical exercises succeed one another.

[592] "The Tukano lives in the maloca, which serves him as bedroom, kitchen, dining room in the morning and in the afternoon. The maloca is, in succession, laboratory for the domestic chores, meeting place at times of rain, and ballroom during the great feasts. It is the place where the Tukano lives, dies, and is buried. For the Tukano the maloca is the world" (Report by the First Superior of the Salesian Missions of the Rio Negro, Mons. Lourenço Giordano -- Boletim Salesiano -- Feb. 1918, p. 31).

The ordinary family life can be summarized in this way: the Indian sleeps little, eats much, talks a great deal, works when it is necessary.

From three o'clock in the morning, the maloca still closed, one hears inside quite an animated conversation, noisy and frequent laughs. And many times the noise of the graters at work: it is the women who are preparing the mandioca for the beijú. Before five o'clock, with rain or without it, always dark in those latitudes, the women leave through the back door, individually

[462] [252] [515]

/479 cont./

512 or in small groups of two or three, ordinarily a child riding on her
• [515] hip and with a vessel on her head, in the direction of the river.
[854] Or, more precisely, that point of the river called Pextá, landing
*[192] place, with suitably prepared access, where the canoes are tied. There they take their quick morning bath, Wa-wa'kãse, of immersion, rubbing the hand quickly over the body, face, and hair. The same is done by the smaller children who accompany them; and they take the opportunity, moreover, to bathe the suckling
[312] infants, whom they have left on the bank. Afterwards they fill the vessels with water and, putting them on their heads, go up with the water to the maloca. Then they prepare the morning meal.

[521] /480/ The men and the boys continue to lie down for an hour
[515] more or less, conversing from hammock to hammock and, still before six o'clock, go for their bath. Then the mats that closed the two doors of the maloca are lifted.

*[192] The pots of Byá-tõ (it is the quinhapira or sauce of fish broth
[264] with pepper) or of Yumũ-ku (mingau) of tapioca, and the baskets in the shape of sieves, heaped high with Ahũ-a (beijú), are put on small mats on the floor. -- "Baãra a'tyá," come to eat, is the invitation by the woman. Those of the male sex place themselves in a circle, squatting, and, starting with the chief, eat heartily, amidst conversation and noisy laughter.

The rule of civility is to serve oneself slowly and to eat without voracity. This, besides, is greatly in agreement with the whole attitude of the Indian, normally calm and serene. The women are in charge of the serving, bringing whatever there is, as it becomes necessary. There are no eating implements: one breaks off a piece of beijú with the hand, dips it in the quinhapira, and carries it to the mouth. The mingau is drunk (1)

*[192]

1. To drink is the expression that they use, although this is not very appropriate, because it is more or less thick. -- "Yumũ-ku sĩrỹáti? Did you drink mingau?"

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19

CUBEO

secondary zone produces supplemental crops only. Gourd provides household dishes, while tobacco, *mihí*, and coca are for ceremonial purposes.

The plaza consists of two clear spaces, a front plaza that is at the entrance to the house, and a rear plaza that is an extension of the kitchen area. The front plaza is a ceremonial site. It serves for the staging of dance formations and is a gathering place of the men.

Ideally, a front plaza is large, clear, and clean. Its appearance speaks for the quality of the house, for its prosperity, for its high morale, and for the excellence of its headman. It is the headman who will insist that the plaza be kept clean. Women are not barred from the front plaza, but it is definitely a male zone with sacred connotations. The medicine man does his curing on the front plaza. By contrast, the rear plaza is a female zone and is secular. It is often littered with the debris of past meals and abandoned and broken household utensils, shards, and frayed basketry. The women assemble here for their own gossip. During important ceremonies, when the sexual demarcation is accentuated for ritual purposes, it is the rear plaza where women guests are received. The rear plaza is demarcated even when the house is still a mere skeleton under construction. A visitor then may have no obvious clue as to which is front and which is back. If he should make an approach by way of the rear plaza he will not be received until he realizes his error and comes around to the front. In just such a situation I have seen the occupants of a house ignore a guest who made this *gaffe*. When he did recover and came around to the front he was received with as much formality at the bare frame of the house as he would have after it had been fully completed.

Finally, the river. The river is sacred to the sib, and is in that sense a male zone. Men fish in the river and hunt along its shores. They hide the sacred ancestral trumpets along the shore and bathe to the music of the trumpets before dawn to receive strength from the ancestors. Ordinary connubial coitus takes place well before dawn at the river's edge, where chances for conception are considered to be better. Again, to call the river a male zone is not to say that it is restricted against women. Women have access to the river for bathing and for washing. But it is not their domain.

During the early part of the day, from just after sunrise until the high heat of the early afternoon, a community gives the appearance of being altogether deserted, or, if the men are not hunting or fishing that day, it appears to be an all-male community. The men are then

---

chicken feed. The *Bahuhua*, cited by Koch-Grünberg as maize growers, had no tradition of having cultivated anything but bitter manioc as their principal crop.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

coitus. First building a small fire, the couple bathes; they have coitus and bathe again. The ancestral spirits add power to the water, that promotes pregnancy. Because of its connubial use the canoe landing is thus a sanctuary of another kind, at night restricted to those who are going to use it for the proper purpose. When the last married couple has left, the young men take over. They bathe off the canoe landing, sounding the ancestral trumpets that have been hidden somewhere along the river bank. Regular bathing with the horns gives strength and sexual potency.

People arise for the day's activities sometime before dawn. Thereafter, the canoe landing is the scene of secular activity, women and girls drawing water, men readying their canoes for fishing, and the young play pack frolicking. In the high heat of the day the women return from their manioc gardens to bathe and refresh themselves. In effect, there is a secular and a sacred period in canoe landing activities. The secular part of the day is from dawn to a tropical four o'clock in the afternoon, when the first guests may be expected to arrive if there is a drinking party or a ceremony. The sacred part is from after four o'clock until dawn. Even on ordinary days, activities slacken at the river by late afternoon. On ceremonial days the distinction of a sacred and a secular period holds strongly.

BOUNDARIES

The clearing delimits the effective area of habitation, but not the full area of a community. This territory runs along a stretch of river and is usually demarcated by a *caño* or creek. On the Cuduiarí these small tributaries run into the main stream at almost regular intervals. A principal habitation is ordinarily along the main stream, which is the preferred site. However, the requirements of slash-burn horticulture necessitate a periodic circulation allowing for three to five years at each site. Depending upon the particular conformation of the land with respect to the danger of flooding, a community may be able to move along the banks of the main stream, preparing its new clearing adjacent to the old. It may, on the other hand, be forced to move up a *caño*, with its connotation of lower status. If it is required to spend a period in a *caño*, it has a cyclical existence, of being in a relatively poor state when it is off the main stream and returning to an epigone when it re-establishes itself on the main stream. When I came to live among the *Bahúkiwa* they had just come from a *caño* phase and were in an expansive mood at having moved onto the Cuduiarí proper again. *Caño* dwellers are self-conscious; they enter-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBE 0

place the blame upon the material conditions. The woman, then, is more than a mere toiler in the garden. She qualifies as agronomist as well.

Women return from their gardens in the very early afternoon. They pause at the rear door of the house only long enough to drop the machete, and without putting down their burdens of manioc and infant, go directly to the river to bathe themselves and to wash the tubers. This is a pleasurable hour. Refreshed from the heat of the morning, the women play with their infants and jest with one another. Washing the tubers is a simple task of dipping the entire basket into the water. A light midday meal follows the washing, and the routine of processing the tubers begins. The woman may start with fresh roots, but for a more tender manioc cake she will allow the roots to soften for several days either in the house or in the river.

The first step is peeling. The woman seats herself at her own household compartment, her back braced against a post, her legs stretched out stiff and straight before her into the dance corridor – the public alley of the house. The manioc basket is at one side and a tray at the other. She bites the butt end of the tuber to break the skin, and using teeth and fingers pulls off the readily peelable skin. This phase of the work is leisurely. Women who are not at the moment occupied come by to chat and help casually in the peeling. A woman's daughters sit with her and help. Enough is peeled for one manioc cake – that is, one half of a basket.

The next step is the most arduous and least liked – grating the peeled tubers on a wooden board (*pediba*) that has been set with abrasive stones. A woman can usually shift this work on to her daughter or her daughter-in-law.

The scraping process is as follows. The woman sits with her feet stretched out straight before her and slightly spread. She sets the grate on her legs with its far end braced against a house post, the forward end pressed against her abdomen. She takes up two large manioc tubers from a tray, one in each hand, and scrapes vigorously with alternate arm movements with the hardest pressure on the forward stroke. The action is vigorous, involving not only full arm movements but the bending of the back from the hips. Young women of marriageable age work rapidly and continuously until bathed in sweat. When worn down to a size where it cannot be conveniently scraped any more, the tuber is thrown aside and two others taken up. Finally, a collection of scraps is assembled into a single bunch clutched in both hands and scraped down virtually to the very bottom. This is a break in the work rhythm since both hands are used together and the move-

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

anced relationship in which he lavishes gifts upon her. "When she grows up," the Indians say, "she will repay him." A young man enters a friendship pact with an elderly widow because she has no one to look after her. This relationship, though, is like mother-son, and the woman will provide the young man with chicha and farinha if he has provided her with a manioc garden. 572

The Cubeo believe that ceremonial friendships persist in the afterlife. As spirits, they walk about arm-in-arm, one informant said, rapturously. The spirit of the friend who dies first hovers about the house until the other dies. It then leads its spirit friend away. 572 775

The ceremony for inaugurating ceremonial friendship is a simple one. At a drinking party, friends paint one another with red pigment which they refer to as "blood." Applying body paint to another, picking lice, or removing insect-bite scabs from the body is a gesture of intimacy normally confined to the immediate family. It is this intimacy that makes it appropriate between ceremonial friends. 572 302 515

Ceremonial friends tend to form a network. When a man has taken a girl as his *hiko* he is likely to take her brother as his *hikü*; his own brother will then take her sister as his *hiko* and so on. There are many network possibilities. Men who are *hikü* encourage their children to become ceremonial friends. The friendship network encompasses the phratry, giving to people special privileges of hospitality along the river. The network of kinship already encompasses the phratry, to be sure. But ceremonial friendship interlaces these bonds with the quality of close kinship. This seems to be its special significance. One may also look at the relationship from an economic point of view, noting the circulation of goods through its requirement of gift exchange. The Cubeo, however, are not so much property-minded as they are person-minded. The Cubeo joke about the gift aspect of ceremonial friendship and laughingly say that some people enter into the relationship with many people in order to acquire gifts. They are amused at the thought that a girl with many ceremonial friends will be a burden upon her suitor, who must make a gift to each ceremonial friend. The parents of young people are also burdened because they will be asked for something to be used as a gift. However, it is not goods they seek but intense relationships. It is not that the sib and the phratry fail to provide people with warmth and mutual assistance. The ordinary organization does this to a high degree. It seems, rather, that being virtually surrounded by "brothers" and "sisters" the Cubeo have exalted expectations of warmth and assistance which ceremonial friendship helps satisfy. 572 571 572 431 571

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

the common expression *hápyako* (listen!). It would not be correct to say that children "seal the marriage." Children, however, do give a marriage its full status. Until her first child is born a wife may remain as part of her mother-in-law's household. Thereafter she automatically achieves her independence, with her own garden and her own hearth. The equality of the spouse terms is also significant, corresponding to the economic and symbolic complementarity of male and female, husband and wife. Although an outsider in a patrilineal and patrilocal sib, the Cubeo wife is not "inferior" to her husband

The relationship between husband and wife depends largely upon personal factors, to be sure. Still, there are some cultural standards for the people to follow. One of these is the keeping of physical distance in public. One does not observe among the *Bahúkiwa* informal or spontaneous gestures of intimacy between husband and wife. They rarely touch one another in public. This lack of physical contact is all the more marked because the Cubeo are in other respects a tactile people. Men embrace one another, women caress one another, and at drinking parties there is a certain amount of heterosexual body contact. But even then, husband and wife keep their distance. There are, however, specific public gestures of intimacy between husband and wife, but these are formal and are in the nature of obligations. A woman applies decorative paint to her husband, delouses his head, and scrapes insect scabs from his skin. These are all intimate gestures to the Cubeo. They are done in public and only in preparation for a ceremony.

The marital relationship is to be understood, I believe, as falling within the range of respect behavior appropriate to members of different phratries. It is incumbent upon the man, furthermore, to uphold his solidarity with his male sibmates by imposing public distance upon his wife. Male solidarity begins early in life and, in any case, is not readily yielded up after marriage. There is a relationship, as well, between connubial distance, as we may call it, and the frequency of tribal exogamy. In many marriages husband and wife cannot even understand one another fully because they speak different dialects or languages. It would seem that the pattern of connubial distance helps make such marriages more tolerable since there is no expectation of sudden intimacy. Lack of privacy makes it easy for public pressure to enforce the rule of distance.

With time, of course, husband and wife develop more ease, more intimacy, and more affection for one another. These new relationships will be revealed in manner of address and facial expression rather than by touch.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

553
614

533
539

Milk of the calabash
Children of our soil
She saw them grow
Son of *Hihédü*
Grew big and fat
Son of *Urúhana*
Grew big and fat
This milk of the calabash
He drank and grew
She saw it.

854
[157]

Warm by nature and, at the time, with no rivals for her affection, a Cubeo mother bestows a great deal of tender care upon her nursing infant. The child is rarely out of her sight and is in almost constant contact with her body, slung in a bark-cloth band across her left hip in such a way that it has easy access to her breast. In the manioc garden the child lies in a cloth-lined tray covered with a bit of cloth against the sun and insects. In the house it rests in the same tray or perhaps in a nearby hammock as the mother works. The baby spends much of the night in its mother's arms cradled between her breasts. A father playing with his child also provides it with body contact. There may well be a connection between the infant's experience with body contact and the pleasure young people derive from it.

Infants are bathed often and in circumstances that are pleasurable. Whether a woman bathes her baby from a water basin in the house or at the river she finds it a welcome interruption from arduous and monotonous chores, and she communicates her pleasure to the infant. Women are gayest when they bathe in a group in the early afternoon after work in the manioc garden. A woman washes her skirt, the manioc roots, and her baby. River bathing is the Cubeo child's first direct contact with the conviviality of group activity.

[515]
[296]
[252]

854
155
[853]

An infant is not allowed to cry for long. It nurses on demand and if it whimpers is immediately picked up, fondled, and soothed. I once saw a woman carefully crossing a small stream over a narrow log, with a basket of firewood balanced on her head, a machete in her right hand, and an infant slung on her hip. The infant reached for her breast; the mother paused, and still concerned with keeping her balance, adjusted the sling so that the infant could nurse. It is virtually impossible to frighten an infant that is on its mother's hip. Nursing is accompanied by some teasing. A young mother playfully squirts milk over the infant's face or blows cigarette smoke at it to make it angry. Then she comforts it. When an infant begins to play with its genitals, the mother encourages it. She strokes a male infant's genitals "to give him pleasure." The Cubeo are also fond of the

[853]
[831]
000

852
831
[887]
[614]
[881]
[833]
[844]
[821]
[881]
881
[514]
[826]
•[515]
[302]
[515]
[302]
[574]
114
881
756
881
881

task. He is said to stretch the young girl's vagina until he can insert three fingers. He then announces, "You are a woman." The Cubeo say that if a girl should reach her first menstruation with her hymen intact coitus will ever after be painful for her and she will have difficulties during parturition. Digital defloration is a secret act; officially, the Cubeo credit the moon with the act. The moon copulates at night with a young girl and brings on her first menstruation. Thus, a prepubescent girl is referred to as *paánwe bebíko* (one who has not yet copulated with the moon).

The pubescent girl (*pupúni*: one who is blown)[1] is said to be secluded for ten days behind screens at the rear of the house, taking nothing but cassava and water. She leaves the house to excrete, through a secret doorway in the side wall of the maloca so that she will not be seen by a man. She uses a scratching stick on her head or else her hair will turn white. Some said her hair would fall out. To develop a tender facial complexion she washes with a leaf that creates a lather and she covers her face with rubber latex and painfully pulls it off. She also pushes dried peppers up her nostrils until her skin burns red with irritation. The pain of this facial treatment is a parallel to the ordeal of the ants and the whipping endured by the boys, but the justification is different. A mother says to her daughter, "You have been accustomed to disobey me. Now let me see how much pain you can stand."

At the end of the ten days her mother paints her body with genipa and she goes to the river to bathe. In the evening a drinking party is held in the girl's honor and her mother pushes her forward to take part in the dances. The period of seclusion is an affair of the women and the men behave as though nothing unusual were going on.

When a *Bahúkiwa* girl came of age during my stay among them she was sent to the house of her paternal grandmother nearby for proper seclusion. I was not allowed to go near the house and I did not see the girl until she had emerged again for the drinking party. Her hair had been cut short. I may have missed many details. Father Giacone, for example, reports that among the neighboring Tucano the shaman officiated at a girl's puberty isolation. He cut her hair short, burned the cuttings in a ritual manner, and then sent the girl to dispose of the ashes in the river.

After her first menstruation a girl is eligible for marriage but the change in her life is otherwise minor. She wears love charms and takes more care of her personal appearance. She is still attached to her mother's household.

[1] She is also known as *nomínyaiwi* (becoming a woman).

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBE 0

769 796 184

peated three times. The ceremony concluded with a chant of the origin traditions.

769 796 178

The men say that in the "old days" whippings were terrifying. One man narrated that when he was a boy he was held by two men in a horizontal position face down. One man held his ankles and another gripped him under the armpits. A third man whipped him at the loins. As each blow struck he was allowed to drop to the ground. This was done three times and not only twice as now. The man added, however, that he was fortunate, because the man holding his armpits was his father, who did not allow him to drop but only dipped him downward. "I have always loved my father for that," he said. Another man said that when he was a boy one man held him by the ankles with his face a few inches from the ground and he was whipped from this position but was not allowed to drop. The point of these two methods, the men said, was that the boy was stretched so that he would grow. Nowadays the boy merely stretches his arms overhead. After the young have been whipped the senior initiator challenges any man to come forward and whip him to test his fortitude. They use a special whip tipped with shell beads. In the course of the night they take turns in whipping one another. Men who think they might involuntarily flinch do not step forward so as not to discredit themselves before the ancestors.

866

I never observed the ordeal of the stinging ants, common in the region. Informants said that they sometimes asked a boy to put his arm into a calabash of red stinging ants and to allow the creatures to crawl up his arm and sting him. This, they explained, was merely a test of fortitude and had nothing to do with powers acquired from the ancestors.

789 856 [515] [534] [824] [515]

Growth magic imparted by the Ancients continues all through adolescence up to the time of marriage. I have already mentioned bathing with the ancestor horns. Such bathing is most effective during the summer season, and lapses during the winter. A supplementary form of growth magic that is not connected with the Ancients is to soap oneself with the suds from certain plants. Certain emetics also favor growth. A youth who has begun to use growth magic seriously shows almost immediately a marked change in personal qualities. Even if he has not yet broken away from the play pack his bearing has become more manly. He spends more time at fishing and he begins to join hunting parties. He adopts the more somber masculine countenance and walks with a more energetic tread. In one particular case of a boy who had seemed rather backward the transformation was abrupt.

5: Goldman E-5 (1939-1940) 1963
SQ19 Tucano SQ19
CUBEO

when the guests arrive the hosts have been honed and keyed up for the day almost like fighters who have been in training. The guests who come to a drinking party see their host sib in its prime condition. The allusion to a fighter training for a match is not out of place here because the gathering of the sibs is dramatized by the Cubeo not as old friends coming together but rather as jealous, aggressive, and fiercely independent segments who have resolved to be friends.

On the morning of the drinking party the *behórũ* dancing staff is planted into the ground before the house as a pennant indicating that a party is to take place. It symbolizes dancing and gaiety. The young men, helped by the boys, decorate the staff with its colored feathers. When they have dressed the *behórũ* they go to the river to bathe, returning clean and fragrant with sprays of leafy twigs thrust through the belt at the rear. Bathing in this context is bodily cleanliness but also ritual contact with the river.

The drinking party itself proceeds according to fixed stages. The first is the reception of guests. This follows a distinctive protocol. Guests arrive by sib and are received by sib. Having reached the landing beach and drawn up their canoes, a group pauses to make itself more presentable, washing face and hands, adjusting garments, tidying the children, and freshening body paint and ornamentation. The guests then walk slowly and with dignity up the path to the house, the older men in the lead and the women and children making up the rear. The women carry the burden of hammocks, food, and utensils, the men carry the ceremonial regalia, boxes of feather headdresses, dancing staffs, Panpipes. They are not greeted until they reach the house. There, inside the great front doorway of the house, stand the men of the maloca, one behind the other in order of seniority, the headman at their head. Long, low benches have been set inside the doorway for the seating of the male guests. Guests are received by sib in order of seniority, but the order of reception of sibs is fixed only by the time of arrival. Men greet men and women greet women. Persons of adult status only are greeted. The greetings are stereotyped and formal, delivered in the characteristic chant and with averted eyes that marks the speech between persons sharing a respect relationship. The guests' reply must echo the phrases of the host. "You have come" is echoed, "I have come." At very solemn occasions when the ritual separation of men and women is to be emphasized with particular rigor, the women are received at the rear (women's) entrance by the host wives. On ordinary occasions the women may come through the front door after all the men are in. They, too, are received in a ceremonious greeting, but an abbreviated

61 Moser and Tayler E.N-5 (1960-1961) 1967 SQ19 Tucano SQ19

249 462 spend the greater part of the morning collecting the leaves which they prepare during the afternoon and evening. It is a serious task and one which each man undertakes with a strange air of concentration. Each coca plant is selectively stripped leaf by leaf before the next one is tackled. The headman carries the basket with him and gradually it fills with handfuls of pale sage-green leaves. The younger men collect the leaves almost reverently in their right hands before emptying them into the basket, their faces serious, their crouched bodies shining in the strong morning sun, their short, clipped speech broken occasionally by a high-pitched laugh.

512 244 462 85 In the distance small ribbons of smoke rise in a misty cloud. The women are just visible, their squat figures crouching among the manioc plants. They can be heard laughing; occasionally a baby cries and the children romp and play among the bright-green manioc plants whose tall spindly branches stretch skywards some six feet, terminating in clusters of long, thin, starlike leaves. With their babies straddled across their backs the women spend the morning cutting out the long potato-like roots from the sandy soil and putting the waste foliage into piles to be burnt. It is hot with the sun streaming down, the fires crackling and the smoke enshrouding the working bodies. There is little time for rest, though a woman will stop to swing her child around and let it suckle her breast; a mother may give a fat yellow beetle grub to her child to eat, having detached the head – a great delicacy, tasting like butter. Soon large baskets are filled with roughly peeled and half-cleaned roots.

512 [482] The sun is high overhead and the men leave for the *maloca* with their basket full of coca leaves; on top they place large dried leaves from the *yarumo* (Cecropia) trees which grow like weeds in the *chagra*. The women too load their heavy baskets on to their backs, the headbands taking the greater part [222] of the fifty-pound weight. The whole group hurries through the forest in silence, passing the old *chagra* where the headman's wife leaves the other women to collect pineapples, then down to the stream beneath the *maloca*. At this point comes one of the noisiest and most amusing incidents in their [515] daily life. Not only the manioc roots are washed in the water but the babies [85] too; the mothers vigorously shake their large baskets of roots, then stop to splash water over the backs of the children. For a short time there is cacophony, with screaming babies, splashing water, continuous chatter and laughter, and even barking dogs. But soon the stream is left to myriads of white and brimstone-yellow butterflies which circle everlastingly over the sandbanks, and the women, refreshed, their long black hair glistening in the sun, return up the path to the *maloca*.

Tobacco plants are nearly always grown in a little patch directly in front

000

A graceful Tukano canoe.

[see p. 66-A]